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THE PHILIPPINES.*

It has been said that we like big things in this country, and we have gotten in the Orient a big archipelago. If you draw a line from Formosa down to the middle of Borneo, then another line from the same point in Formosa at an angle of 45 degrees, you would have a triangle which embraces our new archipelago. That triangle will lie through 17 degrees of latitude, from $21\frac{1}{2}$ down to $4\frac{1}{2}$, and at its broadest point will extend over 10 degrees of longitude. Or if you take a map of Europe made on the same scale, and put the North of Scotland on the apex of this triangle, then the toe of Italy will fall on its base, and all Europe will lie within it in its north and south directions. The upper part of that triangle is occupied by the largest of the islands of the archipelago—Luzon, 40,000 square miles. The middle section of the triangle contains the Visayan Islands, lying south of Luzon, and which we are now beginning to know as the islands of Panay, Negras, Cebu, Samar, Leyte, etc. Towards the base of the triangle are the Sulu archipelago and the island of Mindanao. These islands together make about 120,000 square miles of area. The mountains in these islands run from north to south. From Sulu you can look out toward the setting sun and see a mountain range of 4,000 feet; behind you there are mountains; down in Mindanao, where this mountain range terminates, they are 10,000 to 11,000 feet high. The archipelago raises hemp, rice, coffee and pepper, and is the land of the caribou, which answers all purposes of transportation. There is a tree there called the Nara, out of which they make tables and fine furniture. This land became known to Europeans in the early part of the Sixteenth century. In 1521 Magellan landed in the northern part of Mindoro and sailed northward to the island of Luzon, where some 700 of the natives were baptized. Another Spanish expedition went out in 1565, accompanied by a band of Augustinian brothers, and once more compelled the natives to swear allegiance to the Spanish Crown, and from that day to this the secular and religious powers have worked hand in hand for the subjugation of the Philippine archipelago.

As to the people, I suppose it would be accurate to say that when the first Spaniards went there, they were fairly comparable

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with the Indians of North America, and it is a great credit to Spain that, however much in recent years she may have misgoverned them, she addressed herself to the conversion of those people and the spread of civilization among them. Out of the 8,000,000 people inhabiting the archipelago, 6,500,000 are civilized and Christianized. Their Christianity is of the Roman Catholic type, and their civilization, of course, would not rank with the highest type of civilization in Europe and America, but it has nevertheless sufficiently developed to mark it off distinctly from barbarism.

There is a great medley of people. Matthew Arnold in his letters complained of the monotony of American life; we look alike, think alike, read the same newspapers, our cities are built in the same way, and the very streets are named by numbers. If there has been uniformity in our life in the past, believe me that in the political world we shall have variety now. You have in the Philippine Islands three great races and eighty-four known tribes. The three great races are the Negritos, Indonesians and Malaysans. The Negritos are the oldest inhabitants. Their homes to-day are on the slopes and mountain sides of Luzon, Mindoro, Panay and Negros. They live on tubers and such game as they can bring down with their poisoned arrows. They are fast disappearing and number not more than 25,000. Their death rate is said to be greater than their birth rate. They stand at the bottom of the scale among the peoples. They are short of stature, have closely curled hair, flat noses, thick lips, black skin and awkward, clumsy feet. Their intelligence is also of the lowest order, and as they are fast disappearing, I don't suppose they will cause serious problems in the future. The next in the scale are the Indonesians, numbering about half a million. They are uneducated and live for the most part in the island of Mindanao, which never felt the influence of Spanish civilization. Naturally they seem to be people of great intelligence. I saw a specimen of this tribe—a fine fellow, 19 years of age, five feet, nine or ten inches in height, light color, aquiline nose, almost classic lips and chin—a perfect type of physical manhood. The Malaysans are by far the most numerous of the peoples. There are forty-seven tribes, speaking different dialects which are unintelligible to each other. Some eight or nine civilized tribes constitute the bulk of the Malayan population. These are the Visayans, numbering two and a half millions; the Tagalogs, numbering one and a half million; the Vicols, five hundred thousand; the Pampangos and Pangasinanes, each three hundred thousand to four hundred thousand; the Ilocanos, over four hundred thousand; and the Cagayanes, nearly

two hundred thousand. All these are civilized and Christianized; and to them we must add the civilized and Mohammedanized Moros, about three hundred thousand. You hear a good deal in certain quarters of the Filipino people and nation. There is no such nation or people. What you have is an assemblage of different peoples and tribes, speaking languages which are unintelligible to one another.

It would not be fair to gauge the Philippines by what you see in Manila, because Manila is a great cosmopolitan city. They have a considerable sprinkling of half-breeds, and representatives of European peoples—English, German, Swiss. The civilization of the archipelago is not fairly expressed in the city of Manila. Rather, would I take one of the southern towns or villages, far away from Manila, where the people have worked out their civilization under local conditions, and without any assistance from European peoples. In the remote town of Silay, in the northern end of Negros, I met a number of Filipino gentlemen with whom I spent an hour or so, and I assure you I was surprised at the degree of intelligence which I found among all the people who met me. There was an artist who had painted a picture of Liberty—the United States breaking the chain of the Filipino. I talked with him about the condition of the islands, and we then attended a banquet, where those men made as good speeches as we hear at banquets at home; perhaps not so many witticisms, but as much solid matter and vastly more earnestness.

I was the first official who landed on the Sulu Islands. I saw the Sultan, and told him that we had come into possession of Spain's rights in the Sulu archipelago, and proposed to enforce them. He told me that he had been at war with Spain for generations and had been successful, and that Spain annually paid tribute to him. I told him that our attitude was pacific, and that I was sure it would be to his own interest to accept American sovereignty, and he reciprocated those sentiments.

During all the long period of Spanish occupation of the Philippines, the internal affairs of the Sulus remained absolutely in the hands of their chieftain. Spanish jurisdiction was merely an external one. They managed their own local affairs in their own way. We, having accepted Spain's sovereignty, had no more rights than she had among the Sulus.

I cannot explain the nature of the work which confronts us unless you bear in mind that there are two entirely different social and political conditions in the Philippine archipelago. The people of

Luzon and the Visayans belong to one, the southern tier of islands to the other. The latter represent the stage of political evolution which the Filipinos had reached when the Spanish got there. In the southern tier there are native Sultans and the institution of hereditary sovereignty, and the people are accustomed to the sway of their rulers. On the northern islands, all Filipino potentates and dignitaries standing between the mass of the people and the Spanish overlords have disappeared. You simply have the mass of people with natural leaders to whom they look up. You have, in short, an absolute democracy as complete as that in the United States. In Spanish days, over this uniform level of Filipino people, there was a Spanish Captain-General, but with his disappearance no other sovereign remained throughout the island of Luzon and the Visayan Islands. Consequently, in adapting a form of government to the archipelago you must take account of these varying conditions. We must adapt our government to the people. A scheme of government which can easily be adapted to the southern tier of islands is that which Sir William Clark, with such eminent success, put in operation in the Malay peninsula. He entered into agreements with the Sultans of the States to the effect that he would supply them with advisors, whose advice they were under obligation to accept, and that he would control the receipts and expenditures of their respective States, and he told them that, with these simple changes, the Sultans would find themselves vastly more prosperous than ever before. Any one who has studied the wonderful history of the Malay archipelago will find his promise fulfilled. We can make agreements with the chieftains of the southern tier, by which we shall take charge of the custom houses, and they will accept advisors who will bring to bear upon them not the power of the sword, but the American sense of justice, the American sense of government, and capacity for ushering in prosperity. Thus these islands in course of time can be lifted as high above the condition they are now in as the northern islands have been since the year 1813. Those who recommend this policy seem to think it applicable to the whole territory, but no protectorate can succeed, no agreement with the head of a State can be made unless that head is a permanent head. How could a government like the United States make an agreement with the head of a State which to-morrow may be down? How could we make an agreement with Aguinaldo? The Tagalogs are only one tribe and not the largest tribe. We could not make an agreement analogous with the agreement we have made with the hereditary ruler of the Sulu archipelago. Sentiments of

loyalty surround his throne, his people expect arbitrary rule, what he promises he has power to perform. Aguinaldo, the creature of a military dictatorship, may be up to-day and down to-morrow. While the people are attached to him, they have no feeling for the dictator like that the Sulus have for their hereditary chieftain. We have to govern in the northern part because the conditions are different. Now what shall we do? There are those who say that we cannot do much of anything. Others that the Constitution settles all. I am not pessimistic nor disappointed. We can do a great deal. Though I am not a lawyer, I do not believe that the Constitution applies to either the Philippine Islands or any other territory. The benefits of the Constitution will be enjoyed by the peoples of outside lands when the Congress of the United States applies them. Assuming that we have power to do as we will, assuming that the Constitution does not apply to the Philippine Islands, then what shall we do to solve the problem? The first thing to do is to find out what the people want. We must adapt our government to the Filipinos. No matter how benevolent our desires may be, if the benevolence does not run in those channels which are congenial to the Filipino peoples, it will prove a failure. We made an honest and strenuous attempt to ascertain the ideals, sentiments, and prejudices of the Filipino people, and when our report is published, something I think will be clear which no one would expect to read; namely, that the form of government recommended by the commission is substantially that which the best Filipinos themselves desire. We ascertained the views of the Filipinos not by intercourse with those of Manila and elsewhere, but by asking the most eminent Filipinos to submit memoranda to us, and to draw up an ideal constitution from their own point of view. The most encouraging thing in my experience is the marvelous coincidence which obtains between their ideals and aspirations on the one hand and the traditions, practice and institutions of this Republic on the other. What the best Filipinos want is exactly what the best Americans want to give them, what any set of administrators sent there would most desire to confer upon them. It is the old American story; absolute religious liberty, civil liberties, and all the political franchises they are capable of exercising. It is not independence. There are good and intelligent people, who rank among the best of our citizens, who are commiserating the Filipinos because deprived of their independence. There can be no greater fallacy. The Filipinos did not go to war with Spain in order to win their independence—independence never entered into their programme. Here is their programme—a pro-

gramme first published in Manila in 1897, one year after the insurrection had been in full blast.

(1) Expulsion of the friars and restitution to the townships of the lands they have appropriated.

(2) Spain must concede to us, as she has to Cuba, parliamentary representation, freedom of the press, toleration of all religious sects.

(3) Equality of treatment between Insular and Peninsular civil servants.

(4) Restitution of all lands appropriated by the friars to the original owners, or to townships which shall sell them in small holdings to individual purchasers.

(5) Abolish the government's power to banish citizens, as well as unjust measures against Filipinos.

(6) Legal equality of all persons under the civil and penal code.

This is a list of grievances, a demand for reform subject to the sovereignty of Spain. In dealing with the political problem we must endeavor to give the Filipino people what they want. They do not want independence. The best of them say that it is actually impossible. So far as the first two points are concerned, it is inconceivable that our government should not establish civil and religious liberty. Complete self-government would be a calamity. The Filipinos are not capable of governing themselves. What experience have they had under the grinding tyranny of Spain's rule, with no opportunity to govern themselves except in their local affairs?

We can give what they are capable of exercising; that is, municipal and county home rule. Turn their provinces into counties, do away with provincial governments, set up town government as in the United States, with one proviso. They cannot conceive of local self-government without supervision from Manila, without intervention on the part of the central government, and while the Filipinos insist on county government, they need an American supervisor to see that good advice is accepted. That provision is contained in the constitution of the Filipino Republic, which has served as a model. Our main purpose with the Filipinos should be to give them what they want—municipal and county home rule under the supervision and control of the central government at Manila.

The central government should consist of a lower branch of the Legislature elected by themselves on a property and educational qualification, a Senate, half elected by them and half nominated by the President, and a group of their best men, including the Chief Justice. If we retain the right of naming a Governor, and also have the right to name half the Senate, they retain more real freedom,

more real self-government, than they ever dreamed of when they took up arms against Spain.

It is not an easy task, but I do not think it is an insoluble one. There are of course difficulties which anybody can point out. We have not been in the colonizing business; all sorts of new responsibilities have come upon us. There are certain specific circumstances to which I would like to call your attention.

(1) The fact to which I have referred, of the natural harmony which exists between our own traditions and the Filipino aspirations. (2) The masses of the people are densely ignorant and superstitious. In Massachusetts there is one teacher for every 169 of the population, in the Philippines there is one teacher for every 4,000. But most of the people hunger and thirst after knowledge. Somehow they have in them a persuasion that knowledge is power. The example of Japan is before them as a model. While these people are ignorant, their yearning for knowledge, their devotion to it, their readiness to tax themselves to maintain schools, is an exceedingly hopeful factor. (3) You have a sprinkling of educated men all over the archipelago, educated in the Jesuit college at Manila, or in the University of Manila. I was not anywhere where I did not meet a few educated men. We have got to satisfy the educated minority, have got to ascertain their ideals, and give them the freedom of government they think adapted to the people, and by doing that, by winning their support and utilizing their ambition, they will carry with them the mass of the people, and the problem of government will be a comparatively simple one.

The financial question and the trained civil service are important. The Philippine Islands supported the Filipino government 300 years, and spent, out of \$16,000,000 a year, \$4,000,000 for an army they did not need, \$2,500,000 for a navy which was a mockery, \$1,500,000 on a colonial department. If a country which has money enough to fling about in that fashion cannot support itself and maintain all the legitimate branches of a Filipino government under American sovereignty, then you have the most astounding wonder we have met with in our history. They have resources; there are public lands there in the mountain districts, which will become valuable when highways and railroads are built.

As to the trained civil service, we have not one like the English. But England had not either when she began to govern Asiatic peoples. We will have to make ours, and we have the great advantage of the history of England's experience, its failures and successes, as a warning, guidance and encouragement. I think you may

trust the Yankee to work out the scheme of civil service. We shall not need a large number of men out there. Only a small number of Americans will be needed with the offices mainly in the hands of the Filipinos,—four or five score will be sufficient. India has 300,000,000 of people and 1,500,000 square miles, or, excluding the Feudatory States, 230,000,000 people and 1,000,000 square miles. They have only one English civil official for every 230,000 people, or 1,000 in all. We shall not need an army of civil servants. We may trust the government to send the right men, because, while both political parties insist that we must change our public men every four years in this country, they agree that when we come to deal with the Filipinos it is a different proposition, and we have got to select the best men and retain them in office, because our capacity to govern an Asiatic nation is on trial, and the result one way or the other is going to be of tremendous significance for our reputation. I am willing to confess that I have more anxiety on that one point than on any other. If all doubt be removed there and we send out the right class of administrators, the problem of governing the islands, while perhaps a difficult one, will be more easy than the majority of American people believe. There are some Yankees who think that we can take anything we can lay hands on, but we shall fail if we introduce any such conception into our government.

If we think of these islands mainly as a responsibility which has devolved upon us as a result of our war with Spain, and if we imagine that our mission is to lift these people intellectually, morally and mentally, then I am sure there will be no mistake about the kind of government we shall give them, and the American flag, which throughout all the Orient is the symbol of irresistible power, will then be an emblem of freedom and star of hope to all the oppressed nations of the world.

JACOB G. SCHURMAN.